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Report of Progress

No. 4

TO MEMBERS

National Committee
for
Constructive Immigration
Legislation

(October 15, 1919)

105 EAST 22d STREET
NEW YORK CITY



REPORT OF PROGRESS

Senator Dillingham's Immigration Bill

Two immigration bills were presented to Congress in August, one by Senator Dillingham (S. 2788) and the other by Congressman Albert Johnson (H.R. 8572).

The first is quite short. Its outstanding features are: (1) the proposal to admit "aliens of any nationality" to the extent of 5 per cent annually of "persons of such nationality resident in the United States" (including Alaska and Hawaii and Porto Rico) at the time of the next preceding census, and (2) the proposal to have this principle apply to Asiatics as well as to Europeans. Specific provision is made for the repeal of special laws dealing with Chinese and other Asiatic immigration.

Senator Dillingham's bill has such striking resemblances to our proposals that many have thought he had actually adopted our plan. There are, however, important differences. Our proposal makes use of an indeterminate percentage rate "not less than three nor more than ten per cent"; includes in the "base" American-born children as well as naturalized persons; raises the standards of naturalization in important ways; provides that this privilege shall be extended to those who qualify regardless of race; and establishes an "Immigration Commission" to determine the rate, raise or lower it from time to time as the changing economic conditions may require and also to perform certain other important duties.

Congressman Johnson's Bill

This long bill deals with a large number of proposals, such as the complete suspension of immigration for two years, and thereafter the admission as an immigrant (transients excepted) of only such as declares a "bona fide purpose of becoming a citizen"; the deportation of certain classes of aliens; the admission of certain classes of aliens by passports; and the registration of aliens.

One feature of this bill may not strike a casual reader. The permission for immigration—after two years' suspension—of only those who promise to become American citizens, coupled with the present interpretation of our naturalization laws, which exclude from eligibility to citizenship all Chinese, Japanese and other Asiatics, will result in the complete and permanent stoppage of immigration from those lands.

Senator Phelan's Charges

On the introduction of Senator Dillingham's bill, Senator Phelan gave to the press a statement in which he charged your Secretary with being "simply a Japanese Agent"; he also stated that your

Secretary was "sponsor" of Senator Dillingham's bill, and that "the Gulick bill had been prepared in collaboration with Kawakami." In proof of these charges he gave out a personal letter from Mr. Kawakami of June 25th, addressed to your Secretary, in which, among other things, Mr. Kawakami suggested that if your Secretary still thought a trip to California would do much good, he thought he could "find a way to bring you (him) here." (How Senator Phelan got possession of a private letter of that character—how it travelled from Mr. Kawakami's desk to his, he has not explained, although your Secretary has asked for an explanation.) In his reply your Secretary had written Mr. Kawakami July 3rd that he was "not willing to go (to California) unless American citizens provide the funds."

Your Secretary also wrote Senator Phelan categorically denying each charge. A copy of this letter will be mailed to any member of the National Committee to desiring to see it.

The Anti-Japanese Association of California

Mr. V. S. McClatchy has continued vigorously his opposition campaign. His voluminous articles in the Sacramento Bee he has reprinted as pamphlets which he has sent liberally to members of our National Committee and doubtless to others also. They are entitled, "Japan's Peaceful Penetration," "The Germany of Asia," and "A Japanese Province." His campaign has led to the formation of the above named Association, with the following program:

1. Cancellation of the Gentlemen's Agreement.
2. Exclusion of Picture Brides and complete stoppage of all further Japanese immigration.
3. Barring Japanese forever from American citizenship.
4. Amendment of the Federal Constitution, so that no American-born child either of whose parents is "ineligible for citizenship" can be an American citizen.

September 25th, Mr. McClatchy appeared before the House Committee on Immigration in support of his proposals for anti-Japanese legislation. His address, as reported, was chiefly devoted to the old story of the "Japanese menace." He had much to say about Japan's "flagrant violations" of the "Gentlemen's Agreement."

To indicate the spirit of Mr. McClatchy's personal attack, one sentence may be quoted from a recent letter addressed by him to your Secretary. After reciting a number of alternative accusations against your Secretary and then admitting that "all these things are of minor consideration," he says: "At the worst you would deserve all that malignant enemies might say of you; at best you are a dangerous menace to American institutions; and after your friends and the public have been fully satisfied, by investigation of the facts, as to the manner in

which you have misled them, you should be returned by this government to Japan, whence you came five years ago."

A Vindication

In view of the situation created by the wide circulation of Senator Phelan's and Mr. McClatchy's personal attacks on your Secretary the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America gave a statement to the press in September, "based on its intimate knowledge of the facts in the case."

- "1. Dr. Gulick is in no way an agent of either the Japanese Government or any group of Japanese in this country or in Japan.
- "2. Not one dollar of Dr. Gulick's salary comes from Japanese sources, either from individuals or the Japanese Government directly or indirectly.
- "3. Not a dollar has been received for the expenses connected with Dr. Gulick's work or the other expenses of the Commission, from Japanese sources."

This action was taken by this Administrative Committee because for nearly six years your Secretary has been serving as the Secretary of the Commission on Relations with the Orient of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Conference on Immigration

Plans for the Conference, described in our last Report, are making progress. To secure real discussion, set addresses are arranged only for the first day. We are in the process of securing the speakers. The program as now scheduled is as follows:

Conference on Immigration—Tentative Program November 12-14, 1919, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Wednesday, 10 A. M.

America's Immigration Problems

Opening Remarks by Chairman	(10 minutes)
An Historical Sketch of Immigration Legislation	(25 minutes)
The Next Step in Immigration Legislation	(25 minutes)
The Regulation of Immigration as Related to American Institutions and American Life	(25 minutes)
Free Discussion	(45 minutes)

2:30 P. M.

Problems of International and Inter-racial Migration

Opening Remarks by Chairman	(10 minutes)
Immigration and the Labor Movement of America	(25 minutes)
Migration of Peoples as Related to National Solidarity and Sovereignty	(25 minutes)
An International Bureau of Migrations—A Report	(10 minutes)
Free Discussion	(45 minutes)

Thursday, 9:30 A. M.

Scientific Standards for the Regulation of Immigration Equal Treatment of Races vs. Discrimination

General Discussion	(two hours)
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2:30 P. M.

Immigration and the Labor Question

General Discussion

(two hours)

8 P. M.

Is an International Bureau of Migrations Needed?

General Discussion

(90 minutes)

Friday, 9:30 A. M.

Principles and Methods for the Distribution of Immigration

General Discussion

(two hours)

12:30 P. M.

Standards and Methods of Americanization and Naturalization

General Discussion

(90 minutes)

3:30 P. M.

Report of Committee on Findings

Resolutions: Business.

Folders giving a full account of the conference and program of the Third World's Citizenship Conference, of which ours on Immigration constitutes one section, and also containing statements about hotels and return railroad rates, will be sent to those who desire them.

Our Educational Campaign

Your Secretary speaks as he has opportunity before important groups and societies. On September 25th he addressed the Rotary Club of New York City. On October 14th he is to address the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce. Until the Senate has acted on the Peace Treaty other topics cannot receive much public attention. But quiet thinking and study are in progress. America's immigration policy for the next decade is taking shape. Congressional Committees have shown remarkable hospitality toward facts and ideas which have been brought before them. The time is opportune for educational activities.

Membership in the National Committee

Since January little effort has been made to secure new members, the energy of our staff having been devoted to working out details of the legislative program, to measures of large publicity and to presentation of our proposal to the House Committee on Immigration. Perhaps partly on account of Mr. McClatchy's attacks, a few members have resigned. The disclosure of national conditions because of the war has changed the minds of a few. Some have felt the need of more thorough study of the plan, for which, however, they have no time, before they are willing to continue its advocacy. New members, however, have more than made up the number of those who have died and resigned. The present membership amounts to 1,080. One member on withdrawal claimed we had no right to use his name. We have, however, his letter of acceptance.

Our Financial Condition

What a fine world—in some respects—this would be if we did not have to bother with finances! But

we must take the world—in this respect—as we find it. Reform movements—especially those that seek legislation and that depend on the support of an enlightened public opinion—have to appeal to those who believe in the reform and in the proposed legislation, for material as well as for moral support. Our needs for the rest of the year, conservatively estimated, are as follows:

Regular work of the office and staff	\$1,500
Expenses of the National Conference on Immigration (including speakers, publicity and printing of report	1,500
Special Educational Campaign	1,000
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	\$4,000

We shall need many score of \$5.00, \$10.00 and \$25.00 checks and a considerable number of \$50.00 and \$100.00 contributions.

Members of the Committee may ask as to the results of our letters of March and June asking for contributions. Response has been received from 265 persons, the total amount contributed being \$4,401.50. After paying all expenses to date we have a balance in the treasury of \$274.28.

Our call for financial support, from the very nature of the case, cannot make a sentimental or sensational appeal. Only those of long-headed statesmanship and devoted patriotism will feel the force of our plea. The earnestness and practical support of those who believe in the proposed legislation will be the measure of our campaign of education and of our efforts to secure legislation.

Next to the attainment of Peace and the right settlement of the Railroad question, is there any more important problem confronting America than that of immigration? It will not be really settled until it is settled on principles fundamentally right, namely, to admit only so many as we can turn into loyal Americans and can steadily employ, dealing equally with every people.

We invite your generous support and hearty personal co-operation.

Faithfully yours,

Sidney L. Gulick

Secretary.